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MEN OF THE DAY

A CANADIAN PORTRAIT GALLERY

Thirteenth Series:

HON. J. A. OUIMET

By FAUCHER DE SAINT-MAURICE.

Fourteenth Series:

D'ALTON McCARTHY

By J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

EDITED BY

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MEN OF THE DAY

JOSEPH ALDRIC OUIMET

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Joseph Aldric Ouimet was born at Ste-Rose, Laval county, on the 20th of May, 1847. He belongs to an old French family, the first, named Jean, establishing himself at Ste-Famille, Ile d'Orléans, in 1634.

The father of the subject of our sketch was Michel Ouimet; his mother, Elizabeth Filiatrault Saint-Louis. By dint of strict economy, these worthy people were enabled to send their son to the College of Ste-Thérèse. There he showed his gratitude towards them by becoming first in his class, ending his scholastic course brilliantly, and, his natural bent being towards the law, he entered the office of Mr. Edmund Barnard. Not being wealthy, in order to meet the cost of his legal training, as well as his own personal expenses, he commenced to write in the columns of *Le Nouveau Monde* and *La Minerve*, continuing his journalistic labours until the moment of his admission to the Bar in 1870. Quiet, well-informed, energetic, having a good knowledge of the world, his services were in speedy requisition on the part of some of his *confrères* who had already a good practice. Messrs. Bélanger and Desnoyers—who took him into partnership,—Judge Ouimet, Mr. Nantel, Minister of Public Works at Quebec, and Mr. Corneillier, were successively his partners, and he is now at the head of the firm of Ouimet, Emard and Maurault.

Mr. Ouimet's legal opinions are much sought after, and held in high estimation. His love for the profession he has chosen is profound. In the Courts he is listented to with marked attention.

On the 27th of October, 1873, Mr. Ouimet was elected member for Laval in the House of Commons by a majority of 437 votes. His opponent was Mr. L. O. David. The newly-elected member an-

nounced himself as a supporter of the Conservative Government. The ministry went out of power on the 5th of November of the same year. Mr. Ouimet was re-elected by acclamation at the general elections of 1874, 1878 and 1882. In 1887 he defeated Mr. Adolphe Ouimet by 527 votes, and Dr. Ladouceur in 1891. This time he had a majority of 534 votes. Mr. Ouimet speaks often in the House, and his utterances, clear-cut, vigorous and of vibrant quality, are respected by his adversaries and applauded by his friends.

From 1887 to 1891, the Hon. Mr. Ouimet was Speaker of the House of Commons. It affords me great pleasure to know that I was instrumental in contributing to that well-deserved promotion. I was at that time in editorial charge of *Le Canadien*, and was directed by the Conservative party to bring the name of Mr. Ouimet before the public.

On the 6th of April, 1887, I wrote as follows :

" We shall this year have a French Speaker in the House of Commons. Popular rumor marks out Lt.-Col. Ouimet as the man. We should be pleased to see it confirmed.

" An eminent lawyer, able speaker and erudite scholar, the selection of Mr. Ouimet will reflect credit on us as a race.

" His parliamentary experience is acknowledged by all his colleagues, and we can only congratulate the Government on the choice that is proposed to be made."

Some time afterwards, Mr. Ouimet was unanimously elected to the Speaker's chair, and the House, with good reason, showed itself well satisfied with its choice.

Appointed Queen's Counsel in 1880, Mr. Ouimet became, on the 20th of May, 1891, one of Her Majesty's Privy Council. As a delicate attention on the part of Sir John A. Macdonald, this high distinction was announced to him on his birthday.

Mr. Ouimet has always had military tastes. In 1864, he left the School of Infantry with first-class diplomas, and, in 1869, he received those of the School of Artillery. 1870 saw him enter as Lieutenant the Montreal Chasseurs ; some months afterwards, he passed as Captain to the 65th, and, in 1879, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment, which he commanded until 1889. He went out against the second Fenian Raid in 1870 as Captain, and, in 1885, he was ordered to the North-West. The facts of that deplorable insurrection are yet

fresh in the minds of my readers ; but all are not yet generally known, especially those which concern Lieutenant-Colonel Ouimet and his regiment.

Certain newspapers of that period, prompted, no doubt, by mean motives of political interest, have sought to throw discredit on the French contingent sent to the North-West. Our soldiers were not affected by them in any great degree, and none the less did the brave fellows do their duty. Is it not true that at that period Lieut.-Colonel Ouimet crossed the prairie alone save for his three guides? Alone he lay in the Indian reserve of Battle River. The *habitants* were so ill-disposed that, two days previous, Colonel Osborne Smith ordered the Winnipeg battalion to load arms before he would risk himself in that region.

There remains a curiously interesting page to write on the part played there before Col. Ouimet. Accustomed hitherto to submit and abase themselves before foreign arrogance, the unfortunate people could not be brought to believe that it was possible that a Frenchman, and a Catholic like themselves, would be in authority giving orders even to the officers of the Hudson Bay Company, and having these orders unquestioningly obeyed. It is well known that he won the ascendancy from the first by his justice and moderation. His first act of authority was to order the disarming of the company of Edmonton Guards. They were of no use whatever. He replaced them by a company composed of French Métis, and the sequel proved that the Colonel had acted wisely, for these scouts made a very active corps of sharpshooters. It was they who espied the Indians assembled at the Alexander reserve, and it was they who rescued the St-Albert Mission from almost certain pillage. With even-minded justice, Ouimet was desirous of seeing the old routine regarding the distribution of contracts changed. Up to that time they had been handed over to the friends of the Hudson Bay Company ; hereafter they were to be given by tender. The mobility of the Métis character is well known. Unaccustomed to see themselves treated with common justice, they passed at once from fear and indifference to the most entire confidence. They were not tardy in giving a proof of this. Humble as they might appear, they were not unimportant in the midst of the events that unfolded themselves later on.

A wager had been offered and taken by Colonel Ouimet and two

French officers against three of the officers of the Hudson Bay Company. A rifle match was contemplated. On the day appointed the Métis, in holiday attire, came from far and near and soon the game began. Money, arms, horses, all were placed by the side of the French officers. The latter carried the victory by fifty-seven points, and that evening there was a jovial time in camp. Some time afterwards came the celebration of the national *fête* of St-Jean-Baptiste. All the Métis population united in decorating the church, where Mgr. Grandin said a solemn mass, in the midst of the general emotion. In the evening the school-room was transformed into a banquetting hall, where a sumptuous supper was given to the French-Canadians of Montreal by the inhabitants of Edmonton and St-Albert. Were not these demonstrations in their very spontaniety good proof of the popularity of a superior officer and of the regiment which he commanded?

Ouimet stood as well with the English of the North-West as he did with the Métis. His stability of purpose, his upright spirit pleased them. He was firm with the unruly, polite towards everyone, suffering no injustice to pass unchecked under his eyes. And with all this he had great consideration for everyone.

One of his officers recounted to me a charmingly illustrative incident. One day, in company with a comrade, he took a walk in the vicinity of St-Albert. In crossing the garden of the Grey Sisters, he stooped and gathered three pansies. Fastening them in his buttonhole, he said: "These are for my wife; she shall receive them by the next post."

The Mother Superior of the mission had been witness to the pious theft. She laughingly said to the Colonel:

"You should not have done that. You have shown a bad example to your men in coming to pillage those whom you have bound yourself to defend."

The Colonel smiled, and went his way to the camp. Next day an officer delivered to the Lady Superior a sealed envelope. On the Colonel's card she read the motive which had prompted him to take the flowers. It was wrapped in three bills of fifty dollars apiece,—fifty dollars for each flower,—and he who was the bearer of the message will not soon forget the emotion he experienced on witnessing the tears of gratitude with which it was received by the good mother of the orphans of St-Albert.

After all that has been said and written, it must be allowed that Col. Ouimet was the one amongst the officers who best understood the situation of affairs at the North-West. He placed himself at once *en rapport* with the people. So far as his own individual abilities went, he used them to draw the people nearer to him, to conciliate them, and for this good work civilization owes him and his men a debt of gratitude. The Métis found in him a champion, and to this day he bears them well in mind. I have heard him in the House of Commons urge the claims of the mounted sharpshooters of St-Albert. So well has he pleaded their cause that he has obtained for them the lands to which they, equally with the other volunteers who served in the North-West campaign, were entitled.

The regiment commanded by Colonel Ouimet saw hard service during that expedition.

The English nicknamed his soldiers the "Alligators." Let us see how the brave fellows won that name.

The head of the Hughes battalion was in pursuit of Big-Bear from the side of Cold Lake. It had to cross a succession of marshes that the English Métis have christened "muskegs."

"These marshes," writes one of the correspondents of the *Mail* at that time, "might be jumped across by a man. The ponies that are habituated to live in these marshy meadows, and that are shoed like mules, may also venture there; but ordinary draught and saddle horses will sink therein, and more than one has disappeared in the black and viscid slime that is hidden beneath the spongy mosses of the muskegs.

"A narrow pathway wound into the heart of the brushwood which covers these morasses. After having followed it for some time, the English began to grow weary of thus splashing about in the mud, and they were completely disheartened by slipping in the ranks. The stragglers had already decided not to budge an inch further, when all at once they heard in the distance a joyous refrain. It was a company of the 65th.

"In their turn they traversed the interminable savanna, singing gaily:

"En roulant ma boule...."

"The path wound around towards Bullfrog Lake, repeating continually the letter S as it spread itself out over pools, miniature lakes,

bogs and mud. At one spot it took the form of an old railway embankment thrown in the centre of a swamp. Here and there it was broken by pits and puddles of water, which it was necessary to cross or go around. The waggons of the party stuck in the mud. They pushed at the wheels. The horses fell, broke their harness, kicked, and sank to the neck. Then it became necessary for the men to throw themselves at their heads and struggle with them in the liquid mud. The soldiers of the 65th were not backward in bearing their part in that wearing *corvée*. It was accomplished as by a miracle."

This feat of arms—and it was one of the best in the campaign of the North-West—is narrated thus in an English despatch:

"Some men of the mounted infantry who were with us passed over first; then came the Winnipeg Light Infantry. The gun, protected by an escort furnished by the North-West Mounted Police, came after.

"It was followed by the 65th of Montreal. The scouts had already reported that the route was very bad, and that two days' march at least would be required to cross the eleven miles of marsh.

"They were not mistaken.

"It was an extraordinary spectacle to see the six horses literally towing the piece of artillery in that liquid mud. At each side the soil was trembling in such a way that the men had to throw themselves at the horses' heads to guide them. The horses were encumbered not only by the weight of the men mounted upon them, but also with that of their heavy harness. The weight drawn by them exceeded 3,500 lbs.. One jerk was given, the horses plunged into the swamp, and at a stroke the gun was advanced two or three times its own length, then they stopped to draw breath. At the same time the piece of artillery was endangered; it was sinking, at any moment it might disappear altogether in the mud. The order was sharply given: '*Fouettez!* Whip on!' And at once the excited horses started forward. The drivers shouted, the animals pulled, the piece of artillery advanced, and in the midst of the hurrahs and bravos of the soldiers it was deposited on *terra firma*.

"Nevertheless at one time it was deemed impossible to save the gun. At least a quarter of a mile of marsh lay before the troops. A little more than half way the horses broke down. The drivers dropped the lash, and the animals lay stretched as for dead. The order was then given to dismount the gun. It was hoisted on a waggon in the

line of carriages. Ropes were tied round the poles, and the soldiers of the 65th, yoking themselves bravely to it, soon lifted the piece of artillery, singing the while:

"En roulant ma boule...."

"This act of virile force was accomplished by these French-Canadians after days and days of forced marches."

This is how the soldiers of the 65th of Montreal won their nickname of "Alligators," and it was an English *confrère* who gave it to them.

All honor to them!

During the course of his parliamentary career, the member for Laval took part in some of the most important discussions.

Among other legislative questions, Mr. Ouimet has treated dual representation, the Penitentiaries' Act, the Law of Bankruptcy, the Supreme Court Act, the Militia. In 1874, he stood up eloquently for the pardon of Riel, and the following year he returned to the charge, and declared himself in favor of the complete amnesty. He has taken special part in the debates on the bill determining the rate of interest, on the law of assurance companies, on the charters of the Canada Central, Canadian Pacific and North Shore Railways, and that of St-Martin, in Quebec. He has also taken good part in the following laws: "Charter of the Dominion Building Society," "Charter of the City Loan and Mortgage Company," "Charter of the Silver Mining Company," "Charter constituting the Acadian Powder Company."

An excellent debater, he has occupied himself with such questions as the coal mines, the beet-root sugar industry, the Crédit Foncier of Canada, the Temperance Act, and various treaties concerning trade, police, ports, rivers, railway grants, the bill concerning land conveyances, promissory notes and letters of exchange, the militia pay, for the deepening of the St-Lawrence canal, for the readjustment of subsidies to the Provinces, the criminal laws concerning seduction, grants of land to be given to railways in the North-West, the cutting of timber at the Cypress Butts, and the dry dock at Quebec.

He has played a prominent part as ministerial member, and when the chances of war have forced him to turn Oppositionist, he has acquitted himself with equal honor.

As early as 1879, Mr. Ouimet was indicated by public opinion as a

future Minister. Political events, however, did not allow of his entrance into the Cabinet before the month of November, 1891. It is admitted that the district of Montreal has been deprived of representation in the Cabinet since the retirement of Hon. Mr. Masson, who was succeeded by Sir Adolphe Caron in 1880. It is possible this state of things would have continued if Mr. Ouimet's friends had not taken advantage of the retirement of Sir Hector Langevin to press his claims. His promotion has been welcomed by the Conservative party in Quebec and elsewhere. We know that Mr. Ouimet is too positive and too cool to allow his sound judgment to be carried away by prosperity. He is now a Minister—Minister of Public Works—the head of a Department where the patronage amounts to millions. Without attempting to prophesy in any way, the author is satisfied that, if Mr. Ouimet should make mistakes, they will not be caused by lack of prudence, patriotism or honesty of purpose. He has a past in this respect which has never been assailed, and he may be relied on to preserve the integrity of the record.

Mr. Ouimet is a power on the hustings; he has taken part in a number of by-elections. A popular speaker, knowing the people thoroughly, a true Canadian, his speech is simple and clear; his argument carries with it conviction.

He has been favored by fortune and by success in his profession. In spite of politics and of the time demanded by them, Mr. Ouimet's office remains one of the most important in Montreal.

Notwithstanding these multifarious labors, he has found time to accept the direction of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank and of the Crédit Foncier Franco-Canadien. He has been at the head of the former institution since 1876; in 1886, he was elected on the board of management of the Crédit Foncier.

These strokes of good luck have been owing in a great measure to the influence exercised through his own kind and considerate disposition.

On the 18th of July, 1874, the Hon. Mr. Ouimet married Miss Thérèse LaRocque. He has a charming family, reared by the most tender, and I would say the most saintly of mothers if I had not had the sorrow of seeing my own expire in my arms after forty-five years of gentle, loving, intellectual life passed in daily intercourse, or in correspondence with her when I was among strangers.

The ambition of the whilom Colonel of the 65th has never been allowed to overpass the charmed circle wherein is centred his domestic happiness. And he has been wise in this. The foundation of his home is laid with the true philosopher's stone sought vainly by so many of our "*fin-de-siècle*" gentry.

I am happy to be allowed to place these words on record here, in this beautiful publication. I have always believed that the highest pleasure that could be enjoyed by a writer was to contribute to that: pleasure of his readers. In saying, therefore, to mine that what I have stated here is a record of things that have really happened, that have a strengthening influence, and that may also have the power of example, I have only done my duty.

This aim, which I have endeavored with all my heart to accomplish, is present in my thoughts as I close a biography the incidents in which are not fabricated but authentic, and such as I hope will not only carry a sense of its import with every word, but will also help to furnish some new facts towards the construction of our national history.

N. FAUCHER DE SAINT-MAURICE.

Quebec, June 15th, 1892.

[Translated by Mrs. Carroll Ryan.]

Ottawa
14 Juin 1892.

Mon cher G

Vos amis du Comté de Pontiac vous prennent bien reconnaissant si vous pouviez leur donner pour la semaine prochaine l'assistance de votre parole & de votre travail. — Connaissant votre dévouement je me suis porté garant que vous seriez ici samedi. Faites-le moi télégraphier votre réponse, & acceptez d'avance mes remerciements.

Votre tout dévoué

[illegible]

MEN OF THE DAY

D'ALTON McCARTHY

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D'Alton McCarthy occupies a peculiar but important position in the realm of Canadian statesmanship and in the estimation of the Canadian people,—independent in principle and in politics, yet holding most decided views and ambitious aims.

Conservative in his loyalty to British institutions, connections and development, yet differing from the bulk of his party in a matter of grave and vital import ; admired by a section of our people, but disliked and distrusted by another portion, Mr. McCarthy presents in his past career an illustration of brilliant political progress up to a certain point, coupled with a present condition of what might be termed arrested development.

Consistent adherence to a certain line of political thought and action, vigorous denunciation of the principles of his opponents, and a brilliant and marked position in the Courts of the Dominion and before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, combine, indeed, to render the career of Mr. McCarthy one of great importance and one which contains lessons of interest to all who wish to climb the ladder of success or stamp their names upon the roll of fame in this Dominion of Canada.

Born in the year 1836 of a family which had for two generations practised law in the city of Dublin, D'Alton McCarthy was brought to this country at an early age, and educated at the schools of Barrie, Ontario. He was called to the bar of Upper Canada in 1859, became a Queen's Counsel on the 18th of December, 1872, and has been for many years a bencher of the Law Society of Ontario. If Emerson's definition is correct when he says that "great men are more distinguished by range and extent of thought than by originality," then a foremost lawyer must be a great man ; and, concerning the position of Mr. McCarthy at the Bar, there can be but one opinion. Possessed of a wide

knowledge of the intricacies of our law and that happy facility of instant application which usually stamps the prominent and popular pleader, he may be fairly said to lead the Bar of his Province and to rank with the few principal lawyers of this Dominion. Mr. McCarthy has appeared before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the Empire in a number of important cases, amongst which may be mentioned the famous Streams' Bill, McLaren versus the Canada Central Railway, and the Ontario boundary case, in which last he represented the Province of Manitoba. While not uniformly successful before the Judicial Committee, Mr. McCarthy has made a distinct impression upon the Courts of the Dominion, and perhaps the services of no other man are so anxiously desired or so eagerly sought after in an important case as those of the member for North Simcoe in our House of Commons. Perhaps this very prominence in his profession has had no small effect upon the political life and success of the eloquent lawyer.

His career in politics did not, indeed, appear to commence under very favourable auspices. As in the case of so many others who have fought their way along the slippery pathway of political power, Mr. McCarthy met first with disaster and attained success only after persistent but vigorous battle with his opponents.

In 1867, during the first general election after Confederation, he made his first appearance as a politician in support of the late Mr. Angus Morrison, who contested the North Riding of Simcoe for the Legislative Assembly against Mr. Wm. Lount. Mr. Morrison was also a candidate for the House of Commons in the old division of Niagara, and as both elections were held at the same time, Mr. Morrison, finding himself hard pressed at Niagara, abandoned North Simcoe, leaving the battle to be fought by Mr. McCarthy in that constituency as his representative.

It was not an easy task to conduct a contest in the division in those days, when it comprised what are now known as the East and North Ridings of Simcoe. Meetings had to be held at very wide distances from each other, the roads were by no means beds of roses, and the people being so much isolated from one another, it was necessarily difficult to merge conflicting elements in a union of sentiment or action. The contest was a most unequal one from the first, owing to the great popularity of Mr. Morrison's opponent, aided by Mr. T. D. McConkey, who was elected for the Commons without opposition and

who was a man possessing great influence in the riding. It became a hopeless one after Mr. Morrison's desertion, and Mr. Lount was elected by a large majority. Mr. McCarthy, nevertheless, fought the party's cause with unflinching energy, appearing for the candidate at all his meetings.

The election over, Mr. McCarthy again devoted himself steadily to business, and secured the foundations for his future success. But, in 1872, he was nominated as the Conservative candidate for the House of Commons, and once more took the field on his own account, his opponent being Mr. H. H. Cook. There was little organization in the Conservative ranks, and money, it has always been claimed by the party, was spent with great liberality by the other side; and, after a desperate contest, Mr. McCarthy was defeated by a majority of fifty.

The majority, however, was reduced from that which emphasized Mr. Morrison's failure, and, in 1874, Mr. McCarthy once more contested the seat at the earnest solicitation of his party, but was again defeated, and on this occasion by 154 of majority. This was the election in which the Conservative party was swept from the polls owing to the Pacific Scandal.

Mr. Cook, however, was immediately unseated, and, after looking around in vain for some one to take up the gauntlet, the indomitable lawyer ran again, and this time pulled the majority down to 74. This was the turning of the tide, and in December, 1876, when a vacancy occurred in Cardwell by the death of Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron, Mr. McCarthy, although suffering at the time from an accident, accepted the nomination, stumped the riding for a week, opposed, amongst others, by the present Ontario Minister of Education, and supported by Sir Charles—(then Dr.)—Tupper, and was elected by over 360 majority. The surprise of his opponents was very great, as the previous majority had been small and they were confident of success. During his first speech in the House, Mr. McCarthy took occasion to inform his old antagonist, Mr. H. H. Cook, of his intention to meet him again at the next election. Great preparations were made by both sides for the contest looming up in 1878, and the riding, then the largest in Canada, was thoroughly stumped and organized by the respective parties. The result was the triumphant election of D'Alton McCarthy by a majority of 50.

In 1882, the riding was reconstituted, and, while Mr. H. H. Cook

ran for one of the new divisions, Mr. McCarthy contested what is now North Simcoe against a recent member of the Mowat Ministry, Mr. Charles Drury, who was then a local preacher, a good speaker and a successful farmer, defeating him by 250 majority. Again, in 1887, the Hon. T. W. Anglin was defeated by 323 majority, and, in the late general election, the old-time battle was renewed, and Mr. H. H. Cook was beaten, under exceptional conditions, by a majority of 296 votes.

Such is a brief summary of the electoral battles fought by the present exponent of "Equal Rights," and no matter what may be the politics or principles of the reader, he cannot but admire the tenacity of purpose, the energy of character and the determined confidence in future success which animated the early career of Mr. D'Alton McCarthy. No better proof can be afforded of the sterling qualities of any man than the fact that adversity and defeat only serve as an additional impetus to individual exertion and added incentive to a laudable ambition.

Crowned with success at the polls and possessed of an established reputation at the bar, Mr. McCarthy occupied a position, in 1876, which pointed to a great future. During the thirteen years following, he steadily advanced in the estimation of his party and in popular favour. Though not devoting all his time to politics, giving perhaps the greater portion of it to his profession, he yet succeeded in impressing his views upon the legislation of the period. In 1883, Mr. McCarthy introduced for the fourth time a bill to constitute a Court of Railway Commissioners for Canada and looking to more pronounced Government control over the railways. Though finally unsuccessful in committee, the measure created a warm discussion and considerable interest in the country, whilst several of its provisions were subsequently incorporated in a Government bill.

During the same session, the famous measure regulating the liquor traffic, which afterwards became known as the "McCarthy Act," after being previously foreshadowed in a speech from the Throne, was framed by Mr. McCarthy in accordance with the wishes of a Government committee, of which he was the practical though not nominal chairman. Much of its contents were based upon previous Australian legislation and afterwards incorporated in the Ontario measure known as the "Crook's Act." The proposals passed the Houses and became law, but created wide discussion and aroused warm opposition from the Ontario Government, which found its powers very much curtailed.

Its after history, submission to the Judicial Committee of the Council and disallowance as infringing upon provincial rights are well known.

In 1884, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy became chairman of the Executive Committee of the Liberal-Conservative Union of Ontario, and held the position for some years with general acceptance and amid a growing belief in his political power.

In 1887, the Riel question was the great issue at the polls. The man who incited the unfortunate half-breeds to rebel in the North-West, who endeavoured to arouse the ignorant and easily excited Indians, who acted with such singular coolness and precision in the campaign against our gallant volunteers, and who was mainly responsible for the bloodshed of all that time, suffered the consequences of his crimes upon the scaffold of Regina. What boots it to repeat the old story? Everyone knows the stir and stress of the political storm which broke upon the heads of the Dominion Government from the Province of Quebec. Advantage was taken by the opponents of the Conservative party to direct the indignation upon the heads of the Executive, and although the French-Canadian Ministers, Langevin, Chapleau and Caron, gallantly stood to their colours and their convictions, we know that some loss was encountered. Mr. McCarthy took up the cudgels in Ontario with vigour, and delivered one of the most remarkable speeches of the campaign at Barrie. In that speech he outlined, perhaps unintentionally, the principles which appear to actuate his policy of to-day and which have partially isolated him from the party in whose ranks he has been so long a prominent and honoured leader.

"My own conviction is that it is not religion which is at the bottom of this matter, but that it is a race feeling. There is no feeling so strong,—no feeling which all history proves so strong as the feeling of race. Don't we find the French to-day in the Province of Quebec more French than they were when conquered by Wolfe upon the Plains of Abraham? Do they mix with us, assimilate with us, intermarry with us? Do they read our literature or learn our laws? No, everything with them is conducted on a French model; and while we may admire members of that race as individuals, yet, as members of the body politic, I say they are the great danger to our Confederacy."

Little wonder tnat such expressions in a speech which was other-

wise studiously moderate should have created a sensation, and perhaps proved the foundation of the movement with which Mr. McCarthy has of late been so prominently identified.

While, however, the speaker, upon this occasion, departed from the general policy of the Conservative party, which had always been a consistent endeavour to cement all races and creeds in a common regard and allegiance for a united Dominion, he expressed a strong sympathy with the position assumed by the Government in the recent crisis in Quebec and amid the violent language and recrimination used by agitators in reference to the execution of Riel. "We know that petition after petition was sent in to Sir John asking for the pardon of Riel, threatening the Government with the loss of the French-Canadian support if he was not pardoned, while there was just one petition from the Province of Ontario asking for his execution. But Sir John was consistent to the last. He said, while the criminal shall have a fair trial, while he shall be allowed to appeal from court to court, until he has exhausted the subtleties of the law, while he shall have, before his execution, an investigation into his sanity to see if he is in the same condition that he was in before the trial, beyond that executive interference will not go, the law must take its course; and, for my own part, I believe numbers of my Liberal fellow-countrymen will go out of the ranks of their own party, and will forgive Sir John a multitude of sins which they suppose him guilty of and support him for this one deed."

Following this utterance came the memorable agitation of 1889, the indignation against the Jesuits' Estate Bill and its preposterous preamble, the practical assumption of leadership in the movement by Mr. McCarthy and his support of Col. O'Brien's motion in the House of Commons. It is not often that dramatic scenes are witnessed in that chamber, but no one who remembers the excitement of the time and the feeling which is always aroused by any question which creates racial or religious discussion will fail to see how the elements of a political drama were involved in the battle of thirteen against one hundred and eighty-eight. The storm passed over, the Government had been supported even more strongly than it could have expected, and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy had severed his official connection with the Conservative party, though continuing to give it an earnest support in all but one special line of action which he had marked out.

The Equal Rights Association was formed in Ontario, and the practical though never nominal leader took a more or less active part in the subsequent agitation.

On the 22nd of January, 1890, Mr. McCarthy took another step along the path he had mapped out for himself, and introduced his measure for the amendment of the North-West Act and the abolition of the dual language system in the Territories. His first speech upon that subject has since become so well known as to hardly require description. On one side it is designated as unduly violent and exhibiting the most extreme Protestant bigotry; on the other, it is claimed to embody the true principles of civil and religious liberty. The proposal and the speaker aroused the fiercest antagonism and a most bitter debate. The result, which was hardly in doubt from the first, was in the nature of a compromise, formulated in a Government amendment by Sir John Thompson, which favoured the granting of power to the North-West Assembly, after its next general election, to regulate its proceedings as it saw fit, and was passed by a majority of ninety-nine.

There the matter rests for the present, though the distant mutterings of further attack along the same lines are still heard, and from time to time we hear reverberations of that famous utterance of the member for Simcoe delivered at Stayner on the 12th of July, 1889:

"Now is the time when the ballot-box will decide this great question before the people, and if that does not supply the remedy in this generation, bayonets will supply it in the next."

In May, 1890, the Ontario House of Assembly was dissolved; and the growth of the French language in certain schools and sections of the Province, coupled with the undue subserviency which was said to exist in the policy of the Mowat Ministry towards the Roman Catholic Church, caused a strong agitation for "Equal Rights" within the Province itself. Mr. Charlton, M.P., and Principal Caven failed to repeat their former expressions of opinion on the subject, when it might compel an attack upon their own political associates; but Mr. McCarthy, consistent as usual, took up the oratorical cudgels in advocacy of what he esteemed the right. He delivered several powerful speeches, and at those which he gave in Toronto on behalf of Messrs. Bell and Armour he was accorded most enthusiastic receptions.

In the course of the meeting on June 2nd, the Equal Rights leader

took occasion to reply to the charge that he had been secretly working with Sir John Macdonald since the inception of the agitation, and used the following strong words :

" I can assert here, in the face of this great meeting, and I can assert it without fear of contradiction, that, since the vote of the Jesuits Bill, I have never spoken to Sir John Macdonald about politics, nor has Sir John ever conversed with me about politics. We are friends, I hope, personal friends, since, and I trust the day has not yet arrived in Canada when men cannot differ in their political views without importing hostility into the matter."

The speaker then proceeded to state his position upon the question of separate schools in Ontario and their management in words whose clearness leave no room for doubt as to his sentiments. " With the Separate School Law there is but one thing to be done, there is but one amendment that can be satisfactory, and that amendment is to repeal the different clauses that have been passed since the time of Confederation. Let us see that our Protestant money is not, against our will, diverted to the separate schools ; that the public school inspector shall inspect the separate as well as public schools ; and let us see, beyond all, that books that are read, not the books of religious instruction, but the books of ordinary learning, are books which have been approved by our Education Department. We want no treason taught in our public schools. We want the history of England fairly written, so that our children may have some admiration for the great old land." Punctured with tremendous cheering, such sentiments certainly satisfied the larger part of the audience addressed, but failed to obtain the return of his candidates in the ensuing battle at the polls.

Upon many other questions, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy has taken a vigorous and noteworthy stand. The result of the well-known Home Rule resolution of 1884 was perhaps a fair tribute to his political sagacity. While wishing all measure of prosperity and greatness to Ireland, he dissaproved the passage of the motion as being an undue interference upon our part in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom, practically inviting either interference in our own local affairs by outsiders upon future occasions or a rebuke to our authorities for their unseemly action. The latter was the result, and Mr. McCarthy, while wishing

"Ireland as she ought to be,
Great, glorious and free,
First flower of the earth
And first gem of the sea,"

had the privilege of seeing his prediction fulfilled to the letter.

In other than the racial and religious issues in which he has been a leader, Mr. McCarthy has always battled for Conservative principles, and especially for the commercial and British policy of the party. As he said upon one occasion last year: "A Conservative I am, a Conservative I propose to be, and a Conservative I hope to die."

And now to turn to what he would himself probably term a brighter and more pleasant phase of his career. In what has been said with reference to the local agitation and policy with which the Equal Rights advocate is so prominently connected, whether for good or ill, all comments on the part of the writer have been avoided and a simple statement of the case presented.

The name, however, of Mr. D'Alton McCarthy is indissolubly connected with another movement,—one in sympathy with which men of all creeds and races and factions in this Dominion can be united; a movement which has commanded wide support, and will perhaps achieve as time rolls on a position of transcendant import; a movement which is essentially patriotic and elevating in its nature, wide and broad in its sympathies and aims,—the promotion, namely, of a closer connection between the great countries and dominions of the realm of our Queen. Mr. McCarthy took part in the formation of the Imperial Federation League in London during the year 1884, and when the Canadian branch was organized in Montreal, two years afterwards, accepted the post of President, and has been unanimously reelected each year until February, 1891, when he retired in favor of Sir Leonard Tilley. The following extract from one of his speeches embodies very fully the views of the Canadian leader of the movement: "It cannot, perhaps, be too often repeated that, in the proposal for Imperial Federation, it has never been contemplated that the colonial dependencies are to surrender the rights of self-government which they now enjoy; but the common defence of the Empire is a matter in which not merely the mother-country, but every colony is interested, to which, in justness and fairness, every colony, according to its means, ought to contribute, and it is impossible to doubt that a

great country like Canada must ere long, in one form or another, assume the full burdens of that national life to which she has grown.

"While not looking upon it as by any means essential to Imperial Federation, yet as a step which, if adopted, would go a long way in making the carrying out of the scheme more natural and easier of attainment, I would urge the adoption of a policy tending to a more intimate and advantageous trade relationship between Great Britain and her dependencies and between the colonies themselves than at present exists."

As recently as April 10th of last year, Mr. McCarthy referred, at Collingwood, to the subject in equally strong and incisive words. He, for one, would go for closer relations with the mother-country. Canada was not going to beg at Washington, be rejected and rebuked. We should go to our own mother-land, and, by giving her advantages over foreign countries, she would eventually reciprocate. If some Canadians suffered from the heavy duties imposed, our course was clear. We should gradually lower our tariff on goods from the mother-land. While Canada must sustain her industries, it must be remembered that it was never contemplated in 1878 that our industries would always require to be spoon-fed, or would always require unlimited protection. The day must come, and the day was coming, when these industries must endeavour to stand alone, or to some extent alone, unprotected, or with a reasonable amount of protection, and they should be prepared in the future to dispense with the high taxation necessary to their infancy. Therefore, while he did not desire to embarrass the Government, so long as there was hope of doing anything at Washington, he believed Canada's true course was to gradually reduce our tariff towards the mother-land, and give her the benefit of our market to the exclusion of the United States. He did not mean that we should at once lower our tariff.

The policy of closer trade relations with the Mother Country, whatever form it may take eventually, is undoubtedly coming to the front, and the recent action of Sir Charles Tupper, coupled with the statements of British leaders, the sentiments of Australian politicians and papers, and the persistent agitation going on in England, must eventually result in the evolution of some satisfactory arrangement for the promotion of trade and the efficient defence of our commerce and its myriad adjuncts, as well as the creation of a central advising and con-

sultative council, whose deliberations will tend to preserve our Imperial unity and perpetuate those great principles of liberty, parliamentary and representative government, civilization and power, for which our people—French and English alike—have fought and struggled in the years that are gone. To such a policy and principle of action Mr. McCarthy has, since 1884, consistently pointed the people of Canada. Especially has he urged the young men of the Dominion to accept this as their political ideal, and, in company with Principal Grant, Archbishop O'Brien of Halifax, Lieut.-Col. G. T. Denison, Dr. Bourinot and others, he has endeavoured of late years to create a feeling of confidence in our future as a part of the British Empire,—as, to use Sir John Macdonald's words, an "auxiliary nation," British in principle, policy and administration, British in unity, power and commerce, but Canadian as regards local government, faith in the progress and belief in the future greatness of our country.

It is evident, therefore, that however much a portion of our people may differ from Mr. McCarthy in some of his personal views and measures, all must agree that he is an ardent defender of British connection and institutions, an enthusiastic believer in a brilliant future for this Dominion, and an energetic supporter of all those great measures which Sir John Macdonald and his party have in the past endeavoured to popularize and carry into action. Apart from all local frictions and jars, his policy in this respect may be summed up in the words of a brilliant Canadian poet:

> "Forward for our cause and Canada,
> Forward for Britain's Empire,
> Peerless arch of Freedom's raising,
> Whose majestic span
> Is axis to the world."

What more can be said? The name of D'Alton McCarthy is known throughout the Dominion and in many parts of the Empire, but the personality of the man necessarily remains more or less concealed to the great majority in so vast a realm.

Small in stature, but with clear, sharp-cut features which impress a stranger at once, Mr. McCarthy is, among those who know him, extremely popular, and is respected even by his most bitter opponents.

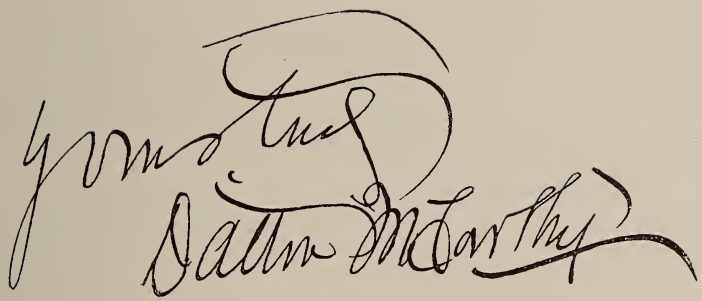
His political characteristics may perhaps be summed up as courage and boldness verging upon rashness, consistency of purpose and action,

vigour and energy in pursuit of a cherished ideal or principle, coupled with quickness of perception and undoubted executive ability.

The past is behind him, and he who runs may read. Of the future which lies before Mr. McCarthy, it would be worse than folly to make a prediction. Whatever may happen in time to come, his career has been one of marked interest and importance, whilst his name and actions have stamped themselves indelibly upon the history of the Dominion of Canada.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

Toronto, March, 1892.



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